

Democratic Phoenix

Reinventing Political Activism

PIPPA NORRIS
Harvard University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	page vii
<i>List of Figures</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
INTRODUCTION	
1 The Decline and Fall of Political Activism?	3
2 Theories of Political Activism	19
I. THE PUZZLE OF ELECTORAL TURNOUT	
3 Mapping Turnout	35
4 Do Institutions Matter?	58
5 Who Votes?	83
II. POLITICAL PARTIES	
6 Mapping Party Activism	103
7 Who Joins?	119
III. SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CIVIC SOCIETY	
8 Social Capital and Civic Society	137
9 Traditional Mobilizing Agencies: Unions and Churches	168
10 New Social Movements, Protest Politics, and the Internet	188
CONCLUSIONS	
11 Conclusions: The Reinvention of Political Activism?	215
<i>Appendix: Comparative Framework</i>	225
<i>Notes</i>	231
<i>Selected Bibliography</i>	267
<i>Index</i>	282

Tables

3.1	Changes in turnout by type of society, state, and region, 1945–2000	<i>page</i> 45
3.2	Significant changes in turnout by nation, 1945–2000	51
3.3	Significant changes in turnout by type of society, 1945–2000	52
3.4	Models predicting turnout, 1990s	56
4.1	Explaining turnout in national elections, all countries in the 1990s	65
4.2	Electoral systems and turnout, 1990s	67
4.3	Party competition and turnout in parliamentary elections, 1945–2000	70
4.4	Compulsory voting and electoral turnout, 1990s	76
4.5	Explaining turnout in twenty-five older democracies in national elections held during the 1990s	78
5.1	Proportion of VAP who reported voting in the previous national election	85
5.2	Models explaining turnout	86
5.3	Social background and turnout	94
5.4	Social background and turnout by nation	95
5.5	Political attitudes and turnout	99
6.1	Trends in estimated official party membership, 1980–2000	110
6.2	Trends in party membership, early 1980s to early 1990s	113
6.3	Levels of party membership, mid-1990s	115
6.4	Trends in campaign activism, United States, 1952–2000	117
7.1	Party membership by type of society, 1990s	121
7.2	National-level model explaining party membership	123
7.3	Membership by type of party	127
7.4	Individual-level model explaining party membership	129

7.5	Party membership by social background, 1990s	130
7.6	Party membership by cultural attitudes, 1990s	131
8.1	Mean scores on the independent variables in forty-seven societies, mid-1990s	150
8.2	Correlations between social capital and global regions	155
8.3	Correlations between social capital and socioeconomic development	157
8.4	Correlations between social capital, political participation, and political culture	161
8.5	Correlations between social capital, democratization, and good governance	164
9.1	Indicators of religiosity by cultural region, mid-1990s	180
9.2	Religious attendance and union membership by social background, mid-1990s	183
9.3	Religious attendance and political participation, mid-1990s	185
9.4	Union membership and political participation, mid-1990s	186
10.1	Dimensions of political participation	196
10.2	Experience of political activism, mid-1990s	197
10.3	The rise of protest politics, mid-1970s to mid-1990s	198
10.4	Rise in demonstration activism, early 1980s to early 1990s	200
10.5	Rise in petitioning, early 1980s to early 1990s	201
10.6	Protest activism by social background, mid-1990s	202
10.7	Environmental activism scale, mid-1990s	204
10.8	Environmental activism by social background, mid-1990s	205
10.9	Environmental activism and political participation, mid-1990s	206